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these—and the present reviewer has found not many—are trifling blemishes in a book of such wide and conscientious erudition.

Maps and tables again enhance the usefulness of the work, which should take rank among the best of our books of reference.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges sous Charles VII.

Par NOËL VALOIS, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1906. Pp. cxcii, 288.)

ONE hundred and two documents are here published, drawn from the archives of the parlements of Paris and of Poitiers; the correspondence of Martin V. and the confessor of Charles VII.; the formularies of the Chancery; the Trésor des Chartes; special compilations pertaining either to the council of Basel or to the question of Gallican liberties in the registers of St. Martin de Tours, St. Étienne de Bourges and Ste. Croix d'Orléans, together with the archive collections of Paris, the Vatican, the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the libraries of Poitiers and Carpentras. Aside from their value in the first instance, many are interesting for the information which they furnish upon the law and the diplomacy of the period; from the point of view of language; or merely as specimens of judicial eloquence. The element of style is especially to be remarked in the two important memoirs drawn up by Jean Jouvénal des Ursins.

The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was the logical sequence of the findings of the reforming councils of the fifteenth centuries. At the council of Basel the question of the reform of the church in head and members was still an issue. Nicholas of Cusa, one of the most passionate adversaries of the curia, there revived the principles of Gerson, but drew from them conclusions which the latter would have disavowed. Eugenius IV. in vain attempted to stem the flood. Driven from Rome by his revolted subjects and abandoned by most of the cardinals, he finally was compelled to yield, and the acts of Basel were published in the name and with the bull of the council and not under the name and seal of the pope. The acts of the council re-established the election of bishops by chapters; laid down educational and moral qualifications for the bishops; prescribed the regular holding of provincial councils; limited the right of excommunication and interdict and of appeals to Rome; established regulations governing the election and conduct of the pope; and abolished the annates required for the confirmation or collation of benefices.

The secular princes were not slow to avail themselves of the political advantage afforded by the findings of the council. After the treaty of Arras and the death of Bedford, when the tide of success was unmistakably flowing in favor of the French crown, Charles VII. frankly took advantage of the findings of the reform councils and the weakness of

the pope to establish the Gallican liberties on so firm a basis that no assault of Rome ever after wholly overthrew them. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges reproduced almost literally the chief findings of Basel concerning the supremacy of general councils, liberty of episcopal elections, suppression of annates, and limitation upon appeals to Rome. Yet in considering the revolutionary nature of this action, which overthrew the edifice of the medieval papacy almost completely, one needs to guard against going too far and rashly concluding that the whole fabric of the church was changed. It is well to bear in mind that in the fifteenth century no one contested the church's right of teaching or of possession; nor of interdicting any of the manifestations of the Catholic faith. The aim of the Pragmatic Sanction was to define clearly the ties which bound the clergy of France to the Holy See, without intention of breaking them, and to emancipate the church and people of France from "the yoke of an undue servitude".

The student of the history of the Hundred Years' War will find it of interest to follow the influence of its events upon the progress of these negotiations. For example, at Paris where the government of the constable Armagnac had refused to recognize the new pope unless the liberties of the church of France were guaranteed (March, 1418), the concordat of Martin V. would not have had any chance of adoption if at this very moment the atrocious revolution of the Burgundian party had not been successful. It immediately took the other course and sustained the prerogatives of the papacy with as much ardor as their opponents had advocated the integrity of Gallican liberties; an ordinance of September 9, 1418, entirely annulled the March decree and declared the concordat of Martin V. obligatory in the Burgundian provinces of France. The same régime obtained in the provinces of France under direct English domination.

Pierre Cauchon, the famous bishop of Beauvais, before whom Jeanne d'Arc was tried, owed his appointment to this circumstance, for Martin V. conferred the bishopric upon him. It is an interesting speculation whether Cauchon would have become bishop if the chapter of Beauvais had enjoyed the right of election, as the findings of Basel provided; and whether the fate of Jeanne d'Arc would have been otherwise if the bishop of Beauvais had not presided at her trial.

Another interesting feature is the conduct of the University of Paris at this time. Although formerly the university had sustained the cause of Gallican liberties, about 1411 it perceived that it had more to gain by support of pontifical prerogative, and from that hour both in Paris and at Rome pleaded for the "reserves" of the Holy See.

The inconsistency of the English policy in France "*qui ne se piquait pas de logique*" is another interesting fact. From the time of Wyclif England had strenuously opposed the claims of the papacy and was the most ardent supporter of the independence of the English church, yet in France in the fifteenth century the government found it convenient to

support the papal cause for the reason that the French crown was in alignment with the party of church reform. In a word the relations of France to Martin V. during the period of transition which followed the council of Constance may be characterized as follows: on the English side a complete accord, though one radically inconsistent; on the French side an attitude of independence of the Holy See more apparent than real.

The double policy of the Duke of Bedford is partially to be explained by the fact that he was the English regent in France. Yet Bedford's conduct has never been entirely explained. M. Valois does not make the attempt, but is skeptical of Luce's explanation to the effect that Bedford needed the pope's support in order to put an end to the dissension between his brother the Duke of Gloucester and his ally the Duke of Burgundy. Bedford's advocacy of the papal cause was far from being disinterested and was not even wholly a matter of politics. He seems to have hoped to obtain concessions from the Holy See as reward for his support. When Martin V. refused, Bedford in retaliation labored to restore the "liberties", but was too cautious to abandon his old course and finally executed the constitution of Martin V. of April 13, 1425, in spite of the opposition of the parlement of Paris.

In concluding his preface M. Valois modestly says: "I do not flatter myself that I have exhausted the subject even thus limited [that is, between the dates 1418-1461]. Upon certain points it will be possible to enter more into detail. I do not think, however, that future research will sensibly modify the great lines of the present work" (p. vii). He refers enthusiastically to a forthcoming work of a member of the École Française de Rome, M. F. Eugène Martin-Chabot: *Nicolas V., Charles VII. et la Pragmatique Sanction: Essai sur le Régime des Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques de France de 1447 à 1455*. But it is devoutly to be wished that the narrow stipend allowed by the French government for publication of the dissertations of students of the École des Chartes and the École des Hautes Études may soon be increased. In 1897 M. Henri Chassériaud sustained a thesis entitled *Étude sur la Pragmatique Sanction sous le Règne de Louis XI.*, and in 1902 M. Robert Huard followed with a brilliant study upon *La Régence du Duc de Bedford à Paris de 1422 à 1435* (see *Positions des Thèses de l'École Nationale des Chartes*, 1897, 1902). Both these dissertations are still unprinted.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Lectures on Modern History. By the late Right Hon. JOHN EMERICH EDWARD, First Baron ACTON. Edited with an introduction by JOHN NEVILLE FIGGIS, M.A., and REGINALD VERE LAURENCE, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906. Pp. xix, 362.)

THIS volume of lectures "together with that forthcoming on the French Revolution will form the chief though not the only monument"